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29 January 1965

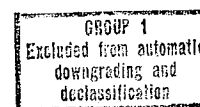
REPORT OF MEETING BETWEEN AECASSOWARY/29 AND  
MYKHAILO LEVISHCHENKO

SUBJECT : Mykhailo LEVISHCHENKO [ ]  
DATE OF MEETING : 22 December 1964  
PLACE OF MEETING: Montreal, Quebec, Canada, in the Coffee  
House of the Sheraton Royal Hotel  
(0915 to 1155 Hours)

1. The Subject was in Canada with a group of prominent Soviet Ukrainians. His Visa was delayed (according to Subject) so he was not in New York when the group visited there. After joining the group in Canada, the Subject sent word to Dr. Maria KLACHKO [ ] that he would like to see her. The invitation first came to KLACHKO via a telephone call from an unidentified member of the Ukrainian Delegation at the United Nations. She also received word of Subject's desire to meet with her in a telephone call from Volodymyr LEVITSKY [ ]. During KLACHKO's meeting with the Subject in Montreal, he expressed a desire to talk with a representative of AEBEEHIVE. (See report of KLACHKO contact with Subject, dated 20 January 1965). After much deliberation by A/2, 29 and 17, it was decided A/29 would go to Canada to meet with Subject. KLACHKO was asked to notify the Subject that he would be given the opportunity to talk with someone from A/2's group but she was not told who it would be. She was merely given a first name to transmit to the Subject and to tell him he would be telephoned at his hotel in a day or two. A/29 went to Montreal on 21 December and telephoned the Subject at his hotel about 9 a.m. the following morning. They made arrangements to meet in the Coffee House of the Sheraton Royal in 15 minutes. A/29 told the Subject he would be waiting for him in the restaurant and would recognize him. Actually, they met on the street opposite the hotel and walked to the restaurant together.

2. Following brief amenities, A/29 took the initiative by asking the Subject whom he represented and his reason for requesting the meeting. The Subject said he was a representative of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad, in which organization he holds the position of Senior Secretary. He said he is directly subordinated to Yuri SMOLYCH whose deputy is Mykola TARNAVSKYY [ ] The Subject

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said his organization was not affiliated with or included in any other organization or institution. When asked to elaborate, he said that the Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad was only a citizens' organization and not a governmental institution. It was organized by Ukrainians previously employed with the Berlin Committee for Return to the Homeland and that it is being financed by "Ukrainian Trade Unions." The Committee in Moscow is concerned with Russians, Belorussians and other Soviet emigres but it does not include Ukrainians and is not affiliated with SMOLYCH's organization. The SMOLYCH organization is not subordinated to the Moscow Committee nor to Kateryna KOLOSOVA's [ ] Ukrainians Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries. (In report dated 30 December 1964: Viktor CHERNYAVSKY, 2nd Sec'y, Ukrainian permanent mission to the U. N. told KLACHKO that Subject's organization was a "segment" of KOLOSOVA's organization, and that the latter was directly subordinate to the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.) KOLOSOVA's organization, according to the Subject, is a separate parallel organization whose task it is to develop and cultivate cultural contacts with all foreigners. In reply to who actually was in charge of SMOLYCH's organization the Subject said it was someone in the CC CP Ukraine but he did not know the name of the individual.

3. When the question of what he had to tell A/29 was brought up, the Subject tried to place the initiative for the meeting on KLACHKO but finally admitted that he wanted to talk with a "competent" representative of A/2 but that he realized the meeting would be very informal, unofficial, a casual conversation involving no negotiations. His reasons, in general, for wanting to talk with a representative of AEBEEHIVE and A/2 were as follows:

a. AEBEEHIVE publications and political activities are closely followed in Kiev. In the opinion of Ukrainians in Kiev AEBEEHIVE has made remarkable progress toward understanding of realities in the UkSSR and world problems in general. AEBEEHIVE's attitude toward war and peaceful coexistence for instance is appreciated. However, there are too many conclusions not yet fully reached. The first step has been taken and he wanted to know whether it would be followed up by the next step. Asked what he meant by the next step and what it was that was desired from the Ukrainian emigration the Subject listed the following points:

(1) To widen and deepen the positive policy toward the UkSSR. To support the UkSSR in a manner similar to the Progressives in the United States and Canada. Of course, he

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said, he would not dare suggest placing A/1 and other nationalist organizations on the same level with the Progressives because he realized they (nationalists) would never become pro-Communist. What he meant was that a positive attitude should be taken toward the Communist Ukraine by those who are not Communist themselves.

(2) To learn firsthand about the real situation in the Ukraine today and to develop true cultural exchanges with Soviet Ukrainians.

(3) As a logical sequence to widening present policy, to stop attacks against the UkSSR and the Soviet system.

(4) Inform the world in a positive and objective manner about the UkSSR, its achievements and its people.

(5) To join the present positive current of reorientation of the emigration toward the UkSSR. He added the comment that the new current of reorientation was so strong that AEBEEHIVE will be left behind if it fails to join in.

4. The last comment prompted A/29 to start laughing. He reminded the Subject that ironically it was Ukrainians in Kiev who liquidated Ukrainian ministries and that emigres are protesting this act; It was the emigration and not Kiev which was demanding diplomatic relations for Kiev with the West; by publishing the DIGEST OF THE SOVIET UKRAINIAN PRESS the emigration and not Soviet Ukrainians were informing the world about the situation in the UkSSR. At this point A/29 said he would like to know what positive changes would be made in Kiev policy which would be conducive to the development of cultural exchanges with the emigration. Without those basic changes in the nationality policy A/29 said he could see no prospects for "cultural exchanges" with the emigration.

5. According to the Subject there was no room for improvement in basic policy. Such negative phenomenon as the use of the Russian language in the Ukraine, neglect of Ukrainian schools and culture, and Russification are to a great extent the fault of those "wretched sheep" (parshyvi vivtchi) among Ukrainians who are not concerned with maintaining and enhancing assets of the Ukraine. They promote Russification and neglect the Ukrainian cause. However, because of the freedom practiced in the Soviet Union even these "wretched sheep" cannot be forbidden to speak Russian, read Russian language books and send their children to Russian schools. It depends on the Ukrainian people to exercise pressures to eliminate the influences of such "wretched sheep." "Come to the Ukraine and see for yourself how complicated things

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are. We cannot force people to speak Ukrainian on the streets..." A/29 said it wasn't a question of forcing people to use the Ukrainian language instead of Russian but a matter of creating conditions which permit the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukrainian educational institutions, in Ukrainian governmental and party organizations and administrative establishments and in Ukrainian industrial enterprises. A/29 reminded the Subject of the Conference on the culture of the Ukrainian language which took place in Kiev in 1963 and enumerated some of its resolutions. The Subject said that a lot was being done as a result of the Conference but he was not able to cite any specific examples. He could only comment that Ukrainian writers in Kiev were criticizing each other for "Russicisms" (Russian influences in the Ukrainian language). He said he was personally acquainted with DAVYDENKO-ANTONOVYCH who severely chides Ukrainians who do not write in Ukrainian. He said there is no official Russification. The Subject said he attended the Cultural Conference on several occasions and witnessed three thousand, or perhaps more, participants displaying great interest in Ukrainian culture. He assured A/29 that things were quite all right and there was no need for any policy changes.

6. A/29 told the Subject that he could see the Subject has much to learn about the true situation in the Ukraine. He said it is the obligation of the intelligentsia to be well informed. Subject's response was "So what do you want us to do?"

7. A/29 told the Subject that although his group would never change their position of seeking an independent Ukrainian state, they would welcome and support any positive moves made by Ukrainian Communists which would benefit the Ukrainian people. They would like to see genuine Ukrainians in the Ukraine interested at least in their own welfare and the welfare of the Ukrainian people. Here A/29 enumerated some ideas for Kiev to implement: (a) Efforts toward real partnership with the Russian people in place of the present Ukrainian position of "younger brother"; (b) Efforts to condemn the concept of amalgamation of nations; (c) Condemnation of Russification; (d) Establishment of diplomatic relations with the West; (e) Efforts to enhance the status of the Ukrainian CP and of the UkSSR.

8. The Subject said he did not see the problems cited by A/29. In his opinion the Ukrainians are quite happy with things as they are. He said he was not in a position to comment on many of the points mentioned. He could only repeat his previous statements to the effect that present shortcomings are being corrected and A/29 can be assured that improvements are being made in favor of Ukrainians. There are no real grounds for the changes suggested

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by A/29. They would only strain relations with the Russian people, and besides the Ukrainians have no desire for separation from Russia. Things are not as bad as A/29 imagines them to be. The Russians helped to liberate the Ukrainian people and gave them substantial support in reconstructing the Ukraine after WWII. At present there are many Ukrainians in office in the Kremlin. This is their understanding of partnership. There is no need for any basic changes in Ukrainian relations with Russian Communists and the Russian people. The problems are rather complex and require more thought. The Subject said he would discuss the problems with his friends and his superiors in the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad but he felt their opinions would not differ with his. He added that he was not in a position ("incompetent") to deal with such purely political topics since he and the Society are interested only in cultural affairs. A/29 replied that aside from the fact of how apolitical "cultural matters" are in the Soviet Union he is surprised to hear that the Subject is so "incompetent" and he wondered if there are any "competent" Ukrainian at all. He added that it appears there is more to be gained by talking to Russian Communists as they are always "competent" in all matters -- Russian and Ukrainian. The Subject then asked A/29 whether he talks with Russians. A/29 did not answer the question but went on to say that the Russians always seem to know what they are talking about, that they truly are elder brothers. The Subject interrupted A/29 to say that the Ukrainian emigres should talk with Ukrainians because Soviet Ukrainians too are "competent", they are brothers to the Ukrainian emigres.

9. A/29 commented that Ukrainians talking to Ukrainians certainly provided a basis for discussions of common problems, in spite of their differences of opinion and that his group was always ready to do something good for the Ukrainian people. As he, A/29, appraises the present situation there are two lines along which the future of the Ukrainian people could develop; i.e., (a) either they will enhance their positions and move to further self-assertion and real partnership with the Soviet Union (or even perhaps outside the Soviet Union in the final result), or (b) there will be further stagnation of the present situation with the final reduction of Ukrainians to the status of Russian Bavarians or Scots, with embroidered shirts and sharavary (baggy pantaloons) as the last symbol of Ukrainian provincialism. The present policy of Moscow and Kiev evidently is following the second line ~~the second line~~ and he would like to know where the Subject stands. The Subject flushed and stated quite emphatically that he would always follow "our party's" line. "What is wrong with the present status of the Ukraine and why do you think it cannot remain the same for the future? I told you we do not want any basic changes. We shall only make improvements." A/29 replied that if that were so then there were no common problems to be discussed on the basis of one Ukrainian talking to another.

A/29 said  
that in his  
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The Subject said that even this question should be discussed in greater detail and that he would be glad to continue the conversation later in the afternoon. He said he had some unavoidable business to attend to and arrangements were made to meet again at 1630 hours the same day.

10. The afternoon meeting took place in the Villa Marie Restaurant from 1630 to 1905 hours. A/29 started the conversation by saying he wondered whether the Subject was now more "competent" and changed some of his previous opinions or whether they would simply have to part with a statement borrowed from the English, "We agree to disagree." The Subject reiterated his intentions to stick to the party line which he was sure would never change in the direction outlined by A/29. The latter commented that even so far as they could recall the party line had changed many times and no one knows what the future had in store, and besides, the Subject must have some of his own personal opinions apart from the party line. The Subject remained silent.

11. A/29 asked the Subject what he thought about diplomatic relations between Kiev and Western capitals. Somewhat reluctantly the Subject replied that he personally was for establishment of diplomatic relations but evidently the West was not and that besides the time was not ripe for such a move. He said he was certain, however, that should the need for diplomatic relations arise, they would be implemented. A/29 commented that the Subject remained psychologically Stalinist because of his unwillingness to go even one step beyond the official party framework. This, A/29 said, made him rather unhappy because he was inclined to see in it portents of eventual return to Stalinism. The Subject categorically denied the possibility of return to Stalinism in any form. He was certain the latest changes in the Kremlin were for the best. He foresaw no basic changes in the nationality policy (c/o note: in the Subject's conversation with Dr. Maria KLACHKO he commented that a new nationality policy was expected to be announced in about 2 months and he expected there would be improvements) because there was nothing much wrong with the present policy. There were only remnants of the past to be removed. In the Subject's opinion, BREZHNEV and SHELEST and PODGORNYY are good Ukrainians concerned with the welfare of the Ukraine.

12. A/29 remarked that if BREZHNEV and company and the Subject were really concerned about the Ukraine they in the emigration would like to see evidences of this concern. He said it was far too difficult to believe in view of such incidents as, for example, the case of arson in the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. To add insult to injury, those in Kiev didn't even publicize the incident. This, in A/29's opinion, was an example of common points of interest on which Soviet

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Ukrainians and Ukrainian emigres could have acted together - by protesting in the entire world against such a barbaric act. The Subject became quite excited and denied that the fire was deliberately aimed at destruction of Ukrainian cultural treasures. According to him it was an accident, the fault of a deranged employee in the library. He said the employee was wounded in the head during WWII when he served with the Soviet Army. During his employment in the library he had occasional "attacks" and was quite impertinent in his relationships with other employees and his superiors. He suffered from a persecution complex and was particularly hostile to his superiors. He hid himself in the library that night and started the fire. The Subject said he could not remember his name but said the man was sentenced to ten years in prison. This information appeared in KIEVSKA PRAVDA. A/29 inquired as to why the man was in possession of chemicals. The Subject said he had no chemicals. All he had was some phosphorus and anyone can be in the possession of phosphorus. In reply to A/29's question as to who he was, the Subject said the man was a Ukrainian and that A/17 ought to know this anyway. The Subject then accused A/17 of perverting facts in the foreign press and that this was no way to help his brother Ukrainians. A/29 said that it was precisely in this way that they were going to help their fellow Ukrainians and also in such cases as the destruction of the Shevchenko stained glass panel in the University of Kiev. The Subject flushed, jumped up from his chair and demanded what panel? It is not true, how do you know about it? A/29 said that just as the Subject discussed with him the incident of the fire in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences library so there were others who told about other incidents. There was also the press. The Subject countered with, "That is not true. Whoever tells you such things is a bad Ukrainian." A/29 asked whether this meant that the Subject too was a bad Ukrainian since he talked about the library fire. "Jokes aside, where did you hear about this? From your so-called underground? A/29: Neither did I. How much education did the employee who set the library on fire have? The Subject said he didn't know but he could find out for A/29. He said he lived in Kiev for many years, that he was born in Kiev and knew the city very well but he had heard nothing about destruction of the stained glass panel in the Kiev University. A/29 stated that this meant that it was not the emigration but the Subject who was in need of becoming familiar with realities in the Ukraine. The Subject then said he could assure A/29 of one thing and that was that there is no underground in the Ukraine. A/29 merely said, "I did not say there is one, or did I?"

13. A/29 asked the Subject to tell him what actually was being done in Kiev to change things for the better. The Subject repeated the old line about much being done, things were being corrected, improved, etc. As for what they have in mind concerning the emigration, they plan to pay more visits to the West,

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to encourage emigres to visit the UkSSR, keep Ukrainians from completely being assimilated into and lost in their new environments by sending them books and increasing cultural contacts of Soviet Ukrainians with Ukrainian emigres. The Subject said he believed Ukrainian emigres want increased cultural contacts with Soviet Ukrainians and the Soviets plan to meet with this desire. A/29 commented that he still didn't know why the Subject requested this meeting and what was expected of his group. Subject's reply to this was that since A/29 reads SVIT I MY (The World and We) he is familiar with BILYNSKYY's position of which they (Soviets) approve and that this was the position they would like AEBEEHIVE to take. A/29 laughed at this and said that this would only be a beginning and that there undoubtedly would be second, third and fourth steps requested. The Subject said he was very serious, "Bilynsky follows the right line", and asked A/29 what the emigration desired from Soviet Ukrainians.

14. Demands enumerated by A/29 were:

a. The ceasing of attacks against "bourgeois nationalists."

b. Releasing of Ukrainian prisoners. Asked to give the names of specific individuals, A/29 mentioned ZARYTSKA, daughter of a famous mathematician. (References to her had been made in the press). The Subject at this point asked whether it would be all right for him to take some written notes. A/29 said he did not mind. A/29 repeated demands noted in para 7 of this report. He added that the Subject might also suggest to SHELEST to place the responsibility for crimes against the Ukrainian people on KHRUSHCHEV's shoulders. The Subject then commented that this was all political and that he was not in a position (not competent) to demand fulfillment but that he would discuss the points enumerated by A/29 with the presidium of the Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad. However, even the Society is not in a position to fulfill the demands as it is concerned merely with cultural contacts. He added that A/29 could address the demands directly to the Soviet Government. Scanning the notes he made in his notebook, the Subject said "This is revolution. Do you want us to start a revolution?" A/29 replied, in jest, that Kiev had better leave revolution up to Moscow which has acquired quite a bit of experience in revolutions.



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15. In talking about Ukrainian emigre literature, the Subject said that he reads the INFORMATION BULLETIN. As to his appraisal of the BULLETIN, either it is good in the beginning and bad in the end or vice-versa. He also said he reads SUCHASNIST and has seen other publications published by A/29's group. His comment was that some were not too bad, others very bad. He said he had not read DOCUMENTS OF UKRAINIAN COMMUNISM about which A/29 asked him. He asked A/29 to mail it along with other interesting publications. A/29 promised he would and asked the Subject if he in turn would mail to him copies of the newspaper VECHIRNYY KIEV or other local newspapers and publications. The Subject said he was sorry but that it is forbidden to mail local publications.

16. The Subject said he was disappointed in what A/29 had to tell him because he told him nothing more than could be found in emigre publications. He expected from A/29 an approach more positive to Soviet Ukrainians. A/29 replied that the emigration has gone far enough in its attitude toward the Ukrainian Republic and that it was Kiev's turn to meet some of the demands of Ukrainians in the emigration. The Subject then said that he expected his colleagues reaction to emigre demands would be similar to his but he promised to present the demands as outlined by A/29 to governmental authorities. He recommended that A/29 should also present them directly to the government.

17. A/29 inquired about V. KUK and M. MATVIYEYKO. The Subject said he did not know them personally but that he knew KUK was working in a clerical capacity in the Kiev State Archives. When A/29 inquired whether people like KUK and MATVIYEYKO would be permitted to visit friends and relatives in the West the Subject said he was not in a position to answer the question but he personally doubted whether they would care to travel abroad even if just for a visit. He could not say whether Western visitors in the UkSSR would be permitted to talk with either of the two men. That would have to be decided by proper authorities at the time the request was made.

18. As far as the rehabilitation of Soviet Ukrainian writers of the 1920's was concerned, the Subject assured A/29 that there are many people working toward that goal at present. He felt certain that some of the writers, as for example M. KHVYLOVYY will never be rehabilitated. When A/29 accused Soviets of silencing information about the Conference on the Culture of the Ukrainian language which took place in Kiev in 1963, the Subject said it was not true because there was an article about it in THE UNIVERSITY HERALD. A/29 said he felt the event merited some space in the national press. The Subject said he agreed but that the entire affair was neglected by those "wretched sheep."

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A/29 then asked the Subject why he didn't do something about it. He could have written a letter to RADYANSKA UKRAINA, LITERATURNIA UKRAINA, or some other publication, or his organization could have done something about it. All the Subject would say is that they did not think about it at the time. He promised to send A/29 a copy of THE UNIVERSITY HERALD if he could find it. A/29 said the Conference on the Ukrainian Language in Kiev was of mutual concern and that Soviet Ukrainians and Ukrainian emigres could help each other by publicizing such events abroad. Certainly the Russians would have given good coverage to an equivalent event in Moscow. The Subject said he and his organization are concerned with the emigration and that they do not closely follow all events in the Ukraine.

19. A/29 brought up the subject of the murder of Stepan BANDERA. The Subject said he could understand 29's interest in the death of Lev REBET but why should he be concerned about BANDERA. A/29 said it was a strange statement for the Subject to make since BANDERA was a Ukrainian patriot and A/29 would be concerned about the murder of any Ukrainian, even about the Subject since the Subject too is a good Ukrainian.

20. The Subject was asked about the demotion of SHCHERBYTSKY. He said the latter was deposed not for political reasons but because he was ill and unable to work for many months. According to the Subject, the writer Volodymyr M. SOSYURA was very ill (note: SOSYURA died since, on 8 January 1965); O. KORNIYCHUK is highly respected and quite active in civic affairs. In Subject's opinion, to date there is no one equal to the late M. RYLSKY. KHRUSHCHEV was removed from his post because he was old, ill and because he had made some mistakes but the Subject could not give any specific examples. He was not strong enough anymore to bear the burden of the affairs of state.

21. Insofar as the Soviet Chinese conflict is concerned, the Subject said it was a real conflict. He hoped the Chinese would soon change their position which would lead to a reconciliation.

22. The Subject was reluctant to talk about himself. He did tell A/29 that he was born and raised in Kiev. He studied journalism at Kiev University. He worked for a while for the Kiev radio station. He is married to a Russian and has two sons. (note: He told Dr. Maria KLACHKO that he had one son, age 15). Subject said he served in the Army as a major. He

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admitted to having travelled to Paris and to Italy but he refused to say when. The Subject said he has a weak heart and does not drink or smoke. He likes milk and fruit juices. At one point during the conversation the Subject said he had ulcers but later denied the fact.

23. The Subject promised to write A/29 at his AEBEEHIVE address about mid-January 1965 and send along a copy of THE UNIVERSITY HERALD. (No word from Subject as of 22 January). He said he would be happy to welcome A/29 in Kiev in the near future. He said that unfortunately he was not "competent" in the field of politics and would have to refer A/29's questions to the government. Under the circumstances, since A/29 is only concerned with politics, there was nothing much he and Subject could tell each other. The latter said this all depended on the Ukrainians in Kiev. It is their turn to move in the proper direction.

24. A/29's assessment of the Subject: The Subject is of average intelligence, and introvert with an inclination to feeling depressed. He is (was) quite nervous but is able to control himself and thinks before he speaks. He was somewhat uneasy during the conversation with A/29, particularly during the afternoon discussion. He was quite modest which A/29 felt was in line with his role of playing down his status of competency in the field of politics.

[ ]  
As Reported by A/29

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Re: Meeting of C with Lev on 22 Dec 1964 in Montreal, Que., Canada

- I -

At the Coffee House of Sheraton Royal Hotel

from 09.15 to 11.55 hrs

1. Asked whom he represents and what he has to tell C, Lev replied that he is a representative of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad. His position; senior (later on he also used the term 'responsible' Secretary of the Society. His chief is SMOLYCH, Yuri, and the latter's deputy is TARNAVSKIY Nikola. Lev is directly subordinated to SMOLYCH. He declined that his (Lev's) organization is attached to, or included into any other organization or institution. Asked to specify on this point he stressed that the Society was ~~not~~ only a citizens' organization and not a governmental institution. It was organized by Ukrainians who worked at one time in the Berlin Committee For Return To Homeland and was being financed until now by Ukrainian Trade Unions. The Soviet Committee in Moscow has nothing to do with Lev's or rather Smolych's organization. The Moscow Committee is only for Russians, Byelorussians and other emigres but not Ukrainians. The ~~Society's~~ organization is in no way subordinated to the Soviet Committee nor to KOLOSOVA'S Ukrainian Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries.

KOLOSOVA'S organization is a separate parallel organization whose task is to develop and cultivate cultural contacts with foreigners.

Asked who is actually handling or supervising Smolych's organization Lev said that someone in the CC of the CP-Ukraine but he does not know the name of respective individual.

As to what he had to tell C, so actually he expected C to tell him something.

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At this point arouse the question of who invited whom; Lev tried to turn the matter in such a way as though the initiative came from Dr KLa but then admitted that he himself wanted to see "someone competent" from Mr L. Of course, he understands that this meeting is completely informal, "unofficial", also ... "just an occasional talk and not any sort of negotiation".

Why he wanted to see a representative of Mr L or Prolog in general and what he had to say was the following:

They (in Kiev) read our publications and follow up our political activities.  
In their opinion we made a remarkable progress toward understanding of the reality in the Ukraine and some world problems as well. They appreciated, for instance, our attitude to war, & peaceful coexistence. But there are still many, too many "buts" and unfinished conclusions. We made first step but the second one did not follow. He would like to know if we were going to make this second step.

2. Asked what he meant by the second step and what they would like us and emigration in general to do, Lev replied:

a/ Above all to "hidden and deepen our positive policy toward the Ukrainian Republic" and support the Soviet Ukraine just as, for instance, their progressives are doing in the States and Canada. Of course, he wouldn't even dare suggesting to put us or any other nationalist organization on the same level as progressives and he realizes that we shall never turn pro-communist but he only meant a positive attitude to the communist Ukraine on the part of those who were not communist themselves".

b/ To learn the situation in the Ukraine by making there trips and developing "real" cultural exchange with "Ukrainian people".

c/ To stop attacks against the Soviet Ukraine and the Soviet system what would be only a logical sequence of "deepening and widening your present policy".

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d/ To inform in a positive, objective way the world - foreigners and emigration - about the Soviet Ukraine, its people, its achievements also.

e/ To join ~~join~~ in the present "positive current of re-orientation of a great part of emigration towards the Soviet Ukraine."

Then he added that this new current of re-orientation was so strong that in case we still not join it "you will be left behind the events..."

At this point C began to laugh and said that before discussing Levs "wishes" he would like to point out that strangely enough ~~they~~ Lev and his colleagues should first apply ~~some~~ at least some of those "wishes" to themselves. <sup>Because</sup> Ironically enough, they in Kiev liquidate ministries of the Ukr SSR and we, not they, are protesting, we and not they demand diplomatic relations for ~~Kiev~~ and a general ~~elevation~~ of the status of the Ukr SSR, and finally by publishing our Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press we ~~inform~~ and not ~~the~~ inform ~~the world and the press~~ about the ~~real~~ situation in the Ukraine.

What C would like however to know in the first place is what positive changes they - in Kiev - are going to make in their policy which would be eventually conducive to the development of cultural relations with emigrations.

C pointed out that without those basic changes in nationality policy there were no prospects for "cultural exchange" with emigration.

3. Lev replied that they - in Kiev - had nothing to change because <sup>are</sup> in the Ukraine all was fine. Of course, there ~~are~~ some shortcomings or negatives but they require no basic policy changes. Such negative phenomena as usage of Russian, neglect of Ukrainian culture and schools, Russification of cities "etc" are at least to a great extent - in Lev's opinion - the responsibility or rather guilt of 'scabby sheep' among Ukrainians themselves. Those scabby sheep do not care for maintaining and enhancing Ukrainian assets, they neglect Ukrainian cause, they are promoters of Russification. On the other hand C must understand that there is freedom for all in the Soviet Union and these "scabby sheep" cannot be forbidden to speak Russian, to

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send their children to Russian schools, read Russian books etc. All depends on the Ukrainian people who will exercise enough pressure on those scabby sheep to eliminate their influences.

C commented that ~~however~~ as Lev said himself there was freedom of actions for Russian chauvinists in the Ukraine but no such privilege for Ukrainians who <sup>only</sup> feared for their native language, culture and history...

"Come to Ukraine and see for yourself how complicated it is -- was the reply of Lev -- we cannot force people to talk Ukrainian in the streets...."

C pointed out that the problem was not in forcing someone to use Ukrainian instead of Russian but in creating conditions for <sup>free</sup>~~use~~ using of Ukrainian <sup>(at a</sup> e.i. without official discrimination; in Ukrainization of schools and universities of governmental and party organizations, of industrial enterprises etc.

in Kiev in Feb 1963

C mentioned the Conference on the Culture of Ukrainian Language and enumerated some of its resolutions.

"We are doing quite a lot in this respect" - was the answer but he could <sup>not</sup> specify except for "you should see how Ukrainian writers in Kiev criticise each other at their meetings for Racists", "I know personally Davydenko-Antonovych who gives such a hell to those who don't care for Ukrainian language", or "I can assure you there is no official Russification". Then - that he /Lev/ went two or three times to the Cultural Conferences, there were indeed 2 or 3 thousand of participants or "perhaps even more", there was a great interest in developing Ukrainian culture and again "we were doing quite a lot", "things are quite good and there is no need for any policy changes".

C replied that it looks as though Iov has to learn about the situation in the Ukraine first to be able to discuss it, and added that in his opinion it was the duty of intelligentsia and particularly of those who were involved in establishing present conditions in Ukraine, to redress old evils and mistakes.

"So what you want us to do?" Lev asked.

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4. C replied that while we will never step down from our position of fight for independent Ukrainian state we would nevertheless welcome and support positive moves of Ukrainian communists beneficial to Ukrainian people. Thus we would like to see Ukrainian communists or rather communists in Ukraine to be genuinely Ukrainian caring at least for their own interests <sup>also</sup> and those of Ukrainian people. C enumerated a series of <sup>"suggestions"</sup> ~~such~~ / <sup>efforts</sup> / they - in Kiev - should ~~implement~~, like, for instance, ~~struggle~~ for enhancing ~~of~~ the status of Ukrainian communist party, ~~of~~ USSR, for real partnership with Russian people and not just the position of 'younger brother', for condemnation of the concept of amalgamation of nations and Russification, for Ukrainization, for diplomatic relations and contacts with the West, etc.

Lev's answer was: He does not see all the problems C told him about. Ukrainian communists and people are quite happy with their present situation. In many points he is not competent to reply or comment. He can only repeat what he said before <sup>etc.</sup> that existing shortcomings and negatives are being corrected and he can assure C that all the improvements in favour of Ukrainians are not being done just ~~in~~ for the sake of one or the other whitewashing. These changes are real, genuine, and progressing. Such changes as C suggested are not historically needful, they have no real ground for their realisation, they would strain relations with Russian people and Ukrainian people do not desire any sort of separation. It is not as bad as C thinks, Russians helped to liberate Ukraine and gave substantial support in reconstruction of Ukraine ~~etc.~~ after WW II, at the present many Ukrainians ruled in the <sup>Kremles</sup> ~~USSR~~ and this was their understanding of partnership, in short no need for any changes in our relations with Russian communists and Russian people. On the whole, these problems are quite complex, need more thorough thinking and he will ~~think~~ discuss them with his friends and superiors in the Society.

He doubts, however, that any of them will have a different opinion about all that than Lev himself. Actually he is not even competent to deal with such purely

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political subjects because he and his Society are interested only in cultural problems.

C replied that aside from how "apolitical" "cultural matters" are in the Soviet Union, C is really surprised that Lev is incompetent to such an extent and C wondered if there were any competent Ukrainians at all. C must say that it seems to be more useful to talk with Russian communists because they are always really competent ~~in~~ in all matters - Russian and Ukrainians ...

"Do you talk with Russians?" was the question. C replied neither yes nor no and continued: "They seem really to know what they are talking about and are real older brothers..."

1 "I think you should talk with us" - Lev interrupted - "finally we are Ukrainians, we are competent, too, we are brothers."

C said that ~~the~~ <sup>certainly</sup> ~~Ukrainia-to-Ukrainian~~ -talking was ~~was~~ a basis to discuss our common troubles" in spite of all differences and we (meaning our group) are always ready to help anyone who wants to do something good ~~for~~ Ukrainian people. But as C appraises the present situation there are two lines along which the future of Ukrainian people could develop - either Ukrainians will enhance their potential and positions and move to further self-assertion and real partnership within the Soviet Union (or perhaps even outside the Soviet Union in the final result), or - there will be further stagnation of the present situation with final reduction of Ukrainians to the status of Russian Bavarians or Scots, with their embroidered shirts and "sharavary" as the ~~last~~ <sup>last</sup> symbol of Ukrainian provincialism. The present policy of Moscow and Kiev is evidently going along the second line, and C would like to know ~~in~~ where Lev personally stands.

Lev flushed and said quite emphatically: "I shall always follow our party's line. What's wrong with the present status of Ukraine, why you think it cannot remain like that in the future?" "I told you, we don't want any basic changes, we shall make only ~~some~~ corrections, improvements, it is not bad".

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C replied that if so then practically there were no "common troubles" or "points" we could discuss on the basis of Ukrainian-to-Ukrainian-talking.

Lev thought however that even this problem of talking itself could be discussed in greater detail and he would be glad to continue the talk in the afternoon.

Lev had to be at 10.00 hrs at the CDC but instead came to see C. Now, however, he must go to his hotel to attend to some unavoidable business.

Lev and C agreed to meet again at 16.30 hrs same day.

-II-

At the Villa Marie Restaurant

16.30 - 19.05 hrs

1. C started the talk by saying that he wondered whether Lev became in the meantime more competent and changed some of his previous opinions, or they will simply have to part with a statement borrowed from the English ~~man~~ : we agree to disagree. Lev reiterated again that he is going to stick to party-line under all circumstances and he is sure the party-line will never change in direction outlined by C. The latter ~~reminded~~ reminded Lev that during their <sup>own</sup> ~~memory~~ the party line had already changed many times and no one knows what the future had in store. C is also sure that Lev must have his personal opinions apart from the party-lines. Lev kept silent.

2. C asked Lev what he thought about diplomatic relations between Kieu and Western capitals. Somewhat reluctantly Lev replied that he personally was for their establishment but evidently the <sup>rest</sup> was against it, and the time was not ripe as yet for such a move. He is sure however that if the need for diplomatic relations arises they will be implemented.

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3. C mentioned that in spite of all Lev seems to have remained a psychological Stalinist meaning his unwillingness to make even one step ~~inward~~ beyond official party-framework. This makes C quite unhappy because he is inclined to see in it some portents of "eventual possibility" to return to Stalinism. Lev denied categorically that Stalinism could ever return in any form. "It's simply impossible". As to last changes in the Kremlin he is sure they are for the better. He refused, however, to specify. He did not think that there will be any basic changes in nationality policy because the latter was OK and only some remnants of old times are to be removed and existing situation improved. He also did not think that BREZHNEV and Sholest could be compared with people like Prokopovich and Yavorskyi (as C had suggested) who helped Russians to build their empire in the past. BREZHNEV is a good Ukrainian, so is SHELEST, PODGORNYI and others. They care for Ukraine, they simply cannot do otherwise.

4. C remarked that if they (Brezhnev, Lec and Co) are really going to care for Ukraine then we would like to see it happen. Again; we are even ready to help Ukrainian communists in their positive endeavours. But it's hard to believe in view of such facts, for example, as the arson in the library of Ukrainian Academy in Kiev. And they - in Kiev - did not even care to inform about the people and the emigration. This is actually an exemplary "common point" on which we could have acted together by protesting all over the world against such a barbaric act.

Lev became quite excited and started to deny that the arson was a deliberate act aimed at the destruction of Ukrainian cultural treasures. According to him this was an accident performed by a deranged employee of the library. The employee served during the war with ~~against~~ the Soviet Army and was wounded in head. After the war he was employed by the library. From time to time he had "attacks" and often was quite impertinent in his relations with other employees and superiors. He was quarrelsome, suffered from a mania of "everybody against him" and particularly was hostile to superiors. SECRET

Once or twice he was released then re-employed. On the night of the fire he hid himself in the library and put it on fire.

What was his name? - Lev did not know. Anyway he was sentenced to ten years. The news about the sentence was printed in "Kievskaya Pravda". How come he was in possession of chemicals? Lev: What chemicals? He had only phosphorus. Everyone can have phosphorus!

Who he was? Lev: Ukrainian, yes, Ukrainian! This should know Mr Prokop! Why does he "pervert the facts" in foreign press? How can he do such things? Is this how you are going to help us?

C replied that in such cases precisely so. Also in such cases as, for instance, the broken panel-glass of Shevchenko at the Kiev University.

Lev flushed and almost jumped off his seat: What broken panel, this is not true, where do you know it from?

C replied that Lev told him about the arson and there were many Levs, many good people, press, also

Lev: This is not true, those who tell you such things are very bad Ukrainians!

C: Does it mean that Lev is also a bad Ukrainian?

Lev: No really, jokes aside, where do you know it from? From your so called Underground maybe?

C: Is there an Underground in the Ukraine?

Lev: I didn't say that.

C: Neither did I. So? What was the education of the employee who put on fire the library?

Lev: I don't know, but I can find out for you. But really tell me where you know it from?  
Then Lev began to emphasize that he was born in Kiev, lived there for many years, knew very well Kiev but he really heard nothing about a broken panel.

C replied that this was just another proof that not C. Lev has to get familiar with reality in the Ukraine.

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Lev : I can assure you as to one thing - there is no Underground in the Ukraine.

C : I did not say there is one, or did I?

5. C wanted to know what in reality they - in Kiev - are doing or are planning to do "to change things to the better". Lev repeated the old song that they were doing much, improving, correcting also.

What will they (from Kiev ) do here in emigration? According to Lev they will continue to make trips, to encourage to make trips to Ukraine, help Ukrainians against their assimilation, send books, ensembles ... just as usual. He is sure that emigration wants to have cultural contacts with Ukrainian people and they will meet its desires.

6. C complained that he really did not know why Lev invited him to come. What do they want from us? Pressed on this point Lev replied : "You read 'Svit I My' by Bilynskyi, I think , we all think, his position is right. Your organization should take the same position, this would be the second step I mentioned in the beginning."

Laughing, C asked whether this would be only "the second" followed by third, fourth and subsequent steps ,or is the second one to be final as well.

Lev : No seriously, I mean it, Bilynskyi has the right line ("pravylnu liniyu"). But tell me what you want from us?

7. C enumerated our demands /as agreed upon with Mr L in advance/ beginning with stopping attacks against "bourgeois nationalists", release of our prisoners also. As to eventual release of our prisoners Lev wanted to know whom we wanted to be released. C mentioned ZAHYTSKA and pointed out that she was daughter of a famous mathematician. Lev asked whether he could write down . C said he did not mind and added that he might also suggest to Shelest to put responsibility for evils done in the recent past to Ukrainian people on Khrushchev's shoulder. Lev noted everything down in his notebook composed of a few leaves taken from his hotel.

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He turned his head several times making comments like that : you want us really to admit your nationalist propaganda to Ukraine, this is revolution, that is against basic policy of our government also.

At the end Lev said: This is pure politics, I am not competent but I shall submit your demands to competent people. I shall also discuss these problems at the Presidium of our Society but it is not able to handle those things. We are concerned only with cultural contacts and nothing else. But you could also direct your demands directly to our government.

8. Referring to Khrushchev , Lev said that one should <sup>not</sup> underestimate Khrushchev's merits for Ukrainian people. C asked what in particular he meant. Lev again replied in general : All what he has done for removing the cult of personality. This is of such a tremendous importance for all peoples of the Soviet Union that merits their unreserved appreciation.

9. Looking again at his notes with the list of our demands Lev remarked : But this is actually a real revolution. You want us to make revolution.

C jokingly replied that not at all, they ( in Kiev ) better leave it for those in Moscow who in recent years acquired quite an experience in staging upheavals.

10. As to the murder of Rebet and Bandera , Lev stuck to the " revelations " of Lippholz. Stashynskiy ? His answer : I believe what said Lippholz and you can believe Stashynskiy. And we shall see who will be right.

11. After "ascertaining" that C meant a multigraphed bulletin Lev said that he reads our Information Bulletin. His appraisal ; either you start well in the beginning and finish badly at the end or vice-versa.

Lev reads also Suchasnist and other publications of our. Some are not bad some are very bad. He has not read "Documents of Ukrainian Communism".

Could C send it ,also other interesting publications ?

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and  
Yes, what he will send ? How about Vecherniy Kiev or some other local papers and publications ? Lev's reply: Sorry, I can't send local papers, it's forbidden, I can't do anything against the law.

12. Referring again to our demands: what C told him is actually a repetition of the same stuff we wrote in our bulletins and other publications. And he thought C would have something more to say, more in the sense of more positive approach to Soviet Ukrainian people.

C replied that in our view emigration went far enough <sup>in</sup> ~~working on the~~ its attitude to the Ukrainian Republic and it was their turn in Kiev to do something to meet wishes and demands of emigration.

Lev - as he sees those problems - is sure that his ~~colleague's~~ colleague answer to our demands will be the same as his (Lev's). Nevertheless, he will submit all demands to the governmental authorities. He thinks we should also do it directly by presenting our demands to the Government of the Ukr SSR.

13. Lev does not know personally KUK, MATVIYEVKO or ~~rather~~ former leaders of UPA-OUN". He knows that KUK has a clerical or some other job at the State Archives in Kiev. He never met him. What MATVIYEVKO was doing he did not know but certainly he was at large too.

Asked whether they - in Kiev - would allow people like MATVIYEVKO and KUK to visit their friends or relatives abroad Lev replied that it was not in his competence. He personally doubted if MATVIYEVKO and KUK themselves would like to travel abroad, even for a visit.

C mentioned that MATVIYEVKO had his wife abroad. Lev: Well, I really am not competent in those matters. He also is not able to say whether someone from abroad could see them while in the Ukraine. Those matters would have been solved on the spot by proper authorities.

14. As to rehabilitation of Ukrainian writers and poets of 1920's lev assured that many people were working now on them. He could not specify but he is certain ~~that~~ as well that not all could be rehabilitated.

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In his view Khvylovyy, for instance, will never be rehabilitated fully.

C: How about a partial rehabilitation?

Lev : I think even a partial one is impossible at the present.

15. Lev on the Conference on Culture of Ukrainian Language in Kiev of Feb 1963 : this is not true that Soviet Ukrainian press "silenced" the whole matter. There was an article about it in "The University Herald".

C: Was it not such an important event that merited mentioning also in the national press?

Lev : Yes, of course, but "scabby sheep" neglected the whole matter.

C : Why Lev personally did not protest against such a neglect, why didn't he write a letter to 'Radanska Ukraina', 'Literaturna Ukraina' also ?

Lev : I simply did not think about it!

C : How could overlook it his Society?

Lev : We all did not think about it!

Then <sup>he</sup> made a note about "Nasha Kultura" of Warsaw in which there was a report on the conference. Lev will try to get an exemplar of "The University Herald" and will send it to C.

C commenting on "scabby sheep" : Judging by what Lev said they (scabby sheep) must prevail over the 'white ones' in Ukraine.

Lev : I cannot deny that they are quite numerous but their number and influence ~~are~~ diminishing.

C : Why people like Lev don't inform us about such events as the Conference ? This is something of mutual concern and we should help each other in giving publicity abroad to such events. Can Lev imagine what a coverage Russians would have got in case something equivalent had happened in Moscow ?

Lev : His Society and he personally are concerned with emigration, they do not follow <sup>up</sup> all events in the Ukraine.

15. Why C was interested in Bandera's death ? Lev could understand when C would ask about REBET but about Bandera ?

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C: It's strange to hear that. Was Bandera not a Ukrainian patriot? Lev should realize that the murder of any Ukrainian would concern C. When - God forbid - Levishchenko would be killed C would be also concerned because there would be one <sup>good</sup> Ukrainian less.

Lev : Why should he be killed . He did nothing wrong in his life . But , of course, one never knows , many innocent people were killed.

16. According to ~~Shcherbytsky~~ Lev , SHCHERBYTSKY was not deposed for any political reasons. He was ill and unable to work for months.

SMOLYCH is writing a book. Very busy. SOSIURA -- very ill. KORNIYCHUK -- very busy, highly respected, active also in civic life. Has a strong position . So far there is no one that could be equal to late Rylskyy.

17. Lev wanted to know whether C was with the UPA. C replied that it depends <sup>on</sup> what he exactly meant : if the movement - yes.

18. Why Khrushchev was removed ? According to Lev because he was old, ill, and made some mistakes. C: What mistakes ? Lev : he doesn't know exactly, Nildita was not strong enough to bear now the burden of state - affairs.

19. Chinese - Soviet conflict ; in Lev's opinion it was a real one also at the present but he hoped that in <sup>the</sup> future the Chinese will change their position. This might lead to <sup>a</sup> reconciliation. Ukrainian communists were right in supporting Khrushchov and the CC in their policy toward China.

20. Lev about himself ; ( was very reluctant to talk about himself and asked C " why do you ask it " also, C had to assure him that there was nothing obnoxious in asking whether Lev was in France or somewhere else )

Born and grew up in Kiev, studied journalism at Kiev University, worked for some time at Kiev Radio, had many friends there, married, has two boys, his wife is Russian but reads Ukrainian; during the war served in the army in the

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rank of major, made trips to Paris, France and to Italy. Refused to say when. Cannot drink nor smoke. Has a weak heart. Once mentioned that he also suffered from ulcers but later on denied it. Likes milk and juices. Does not like meat.

21. Mid-January 1965 Lev will write C to Prolog "about your demands". He will also send "The University Herald". Lev hopes that they will meet sometime again in the future and he would be glad to welcome C in Kiev. That's a pity C ~~is~~ only concerned with politics, Lev is not competent in these matters but he will refer everything to the government. But as the matters stand now - Lev continued - "we have not much to tell each other". C replied that this depended on them - in Kiev. It's their turn to make a move in proper direction.

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1. In the conversation with C, Lev felt somewhat uneasy. Particularly in the afternoon. He seems to be ~~a~~ quite <sup>a</sup> businesslike type, of average intelligence, introvert, with inclination to depressive feelings. Thinks before talks. Quite nervous but knows how to control himself. Acted like a modest man what in this case was ~~probably~~ in line with his method of playing down his "status of ~~in~~competence".

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